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Serial No. 10173 - Code - 7 p.m. 28 March 1941 - South 1

To Representative YOSHIKAWA at BATAVIA.

From Foreign Minister KONOYE.

Items concerning the aim of future negotiations

Communication No. 68; by office chiefs' code.

Regarding your telegram communication No. 123:-

Your viewpoint is reasonable enough that for any settlement intended on the problems of entry, commercial enterprise, etc., our only means are those given in your telegram No. 125. But, as you know, our whole nation has paid the greatest possible attention to the negotiations on this matter, and if they end at this point without any results, our nation, inside the country, will lose all confidence in our foreign policy, while enemy nations outside will gain the impression that we are easily dealt with and will intensify all the more their contumely and oppression. Altogether it would have an enormous political influence both at home and abroad.

According to reliable information, there is some evidence that the Netherlands feel embarrassed by the continued presence of your representatives and regard it as an anticipatory measure designed by Japan to turn to positive advantage any change in the situation; what is more, they are taking the extremely indifferent attitude that the continuance of the negotiations is nothing but a waste of time, and in particular, they are putting on a superficial show of satisfaction with the cooperative attitude of our representatives and are content to regard it as a compromise by Japan.

However, considering the change in the situation after Foreign Minister MATSUOKA's visit to Europe and the intention of the Foreign Minister and the Colonial Minister (a sympathizer with Japan), who are shortly to visit your place after enlisting American interest, we must request you, troublesome as it is, to push pertinaciously our original demands for the time being, to direct your main effort to the acquisition of resources, and to await further developments in the situation (decision reached in concert with the Army).

Finally, in view of the imperative necessity for the continued presence for awhile of our representatives please take care in carrying on the negotiations not to fall into The Netherlands' plan for getting rid of your representatives.

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總第一二三號 晴 昭和十二年二月二日 東京
會商第六號 館長符號 報
貴電會商第一二三號 閣下
入國企業等、問題ニ付、今何等カノ妥結ヲ圖ルトセハ、貴電第
一二五號、如キモノヨリ外無カルヘシト、貴見ハ尤モナルモ御承
知、通リ本件交渉ハ我朝野、重大関心事ニシテ此、際交
渉ヲ有耶無耶ニ終ラシメンカ内國民、我外交ニ対スル信賴
ヲ喪ハシメ外敵性國家ニ対シ日本與シ易シト、印象ヲ與
（其、侮蔑壓迫ヲ助長シ内外與フル政治的影響重大ナリ。
確實ナル情報ニ依リハ、蘭側ハ貴代表、滞在ヲ煙々カリ日本
情勢轉換、候、強硬態度ニ轉ヒ、爲、伏線の存在ト看做ス
一方交渉、双方ニ取リ單ニ時間、空費ニ過キスト、極メテ冷淡ナル
態度ニ至リ特ニ代表部、協調的態度ニ表面満足ヲ装ヘ乍
ラ之ヲ以テ日本、軟化ト解シ、氣ヲ良クシ居ル形跡アリ
然レトモ松岡外相渡歐後、形勢、變化及米國側、氣ヲ引
キタル後、近ク貴地ニ渡ルヘキ外相及植民祖（親日的人物）人、意
嚮モアリ甚ク御苦勞一カヲ暫ク我輩本原安未ヲ執物、之ニ
スルト去ニ重點ニ物資獲得ニ移行シ情勢、推察ヲ待ツト
ト致度シ（軍例トモ協議済）
追テ當分代表部ヲ存續スルコト總對必要ナリ情アルニ
付交渉、進行ニ當リ代表部、追テ、蘭側、策謀ニ及セ、
シサル様御、配慮アリ

EXHIBIT NO. 1320

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Page 1.

Dispatched Telegram No. 19134:

Copy of Telegram. Dispatched by Minister MATSUOKA at 9:30 p.m., on
May 23, 1941 /Showa 16/

To Delegate YOSHIKAWA in Batavia,
Ambassador SHIGEMITSU in Great Britain, and
Ambassador NOMURA in the United States.

Re: Acceleration of Negotiations with Dutch Indies.

Code "Go" No. 1117, Urgent:

On 22nd I invited Ambassador CRAIGIE and told him that the negotiations with the Dutch Indies, through the extreme wholesale concession on our side, had reached a rapprochement when compared with the former contentions of both sides, but that there still remained some difficulty about rubber and tin. In June last year, the Dutch Government assured us that, whatever the situation might be, the Government would supply Japan with 20,000 tons of rubber and 3,000 tons of tin, and despite the fact that we conceded to the said quantities, the Dutch Indies Government, taking the quantities of rubber and tin exported by French Indo-China and Thailand to Japan into consideration, now asserts that the quantities mentioned above would be still further deducted, but it must be borne in mind that the demand for rubber and tin in our country had become increased. I also explained that, although it is claimed that there is the danger of Japan's supplying Germany with rubber, even by adding the quantity of rubber expected to be imported from French Indo-China and Thailand to the 20,000 tons of rubber which we have demanded of the Dutch Indies, it would still be far below the total quantity required by us. What country is there in the world that would give its own flesh to another country by even going to the extent of cutting its own. Furthermore, it merely shows the presumptuousness of the Dutch Indies at the same time constituting an act of humiliation to Japan, who is a great power, to have a small nation like the Dutch Indies demand of us an assurance that Japan will not re-export to Germany. We could never give such an assurance. Should the negotiations by chance, end in rupture and lead to Delegate YOSHIKAWA's withdrawal, there is no vouchsafing as regards what a grave situation may arise not only diplomatically, but also internally, thereby inciting not only the anti-Dutch, but also anti-British and anti-American sentiment to such a degree that this Minister may no longer be able to check same as was done in the past.

Therefore, I asked the Ambassador /TN: CRAIGIE/ to render his good offices in having his country bear pressure upon the Dutch and Dutch Indies Government with all possible dispatch so as to make them reconsider

matters, also requesting him to promptly cable to his Home Government, to which the Ambassador replied by saying that he would comply with my request by trying to dispatch a telegram at once.

Destination of this telegram:

Delegate YOSHIKAWA, Great Britain and the United States.

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發電第九二三四號

昭和十六年五月三十一日午後九時三十分松岡大臣發
在「バタヴィヤ」茅澤代表在英會光大使在米野
村大使宛電報寫

蘭印交涉促進方ニ関スル件

暗合第二二七號至急

Doc

「エドムント」大使ヲ招致本大臣ヨリ日蘭印交渉、我々、非常ニ全面
的讓歩ニ依リ雙方ノ主張以前ニ比シ接近シタルヲ唯護護及錫ニ関
シハ困難アリ客年六月蘭側ハ護護ニ萬延、錫三千延、如何ナル
事態ニ於テモ對日供給スベシト確約セルガ我々、其ノ數量迄、讓歩
ヲシタルニ拘リ、蘭印側ハ佛印及「タイ」ノ對日供給量ト既ニ合セタルニ
更ニ右數量ヨリ減額スルコトアルニト主張シ居ル處我々、護護及錫
需要増加セルヲ忘ルベカラズ。

Ex 1321

日本が獨逸ニ對シ護護ヲ供給スル、虞アリト云ハルモ我々が蘭印ニ對シ
ヲ要求スルニ萬延佛印「タイ」等ヨリ輸入ヲ豫想スル也數ト併ハスモ我
方、必要トセル全數量ヲ遂ニ下廻ガ次第ニシテ世界何レノ國ガ自分ノ肉ヲ切
リテ他國ニ與フルモノアリヤ又弱少蘭印が對獨再輸出ヲ為サル保障ヲ
我々要求スルガ如キ、蘭印ノ增長ヲ示スモノシテ大國、日本ニ對シ「エー
ション」ナリ我々、漸ク斯ル保障ハ與ヘ得ズ萬ニ交渉決裂シ茅澤代表
引揚ゲトモナリ、外交ニハ勿論國內的ニモ息慮スベキ事態、起ルコト無キ
ヲ保ズ抗蘭並ニハ排英米熱ヲ煽ラルニ至ルベク最早本大臣ニ於テ從
來ノ如ク之ヲ阻止得サルモ知ルベキ依テ大臣及蘭及蘭印政府ヲ反省セラルベキ
國體力ヲ用テナル様貴使「グランド・オフィス」煩ハシ度ク至急本國政府ニ電報ヲシ
度ニ申入ルニ大使、貴使ニ副官早急電報第カスベシト答ヘタリ

本電 光 茅澤代表 央 木

RETURN TO ROOM 301

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No. 14 /T.N. In Chinese Ink/

1941 /Showa 16/ 15593 (cipher telegram)

Despatched from BATAVIA - June 7, P.M.

Received at this /T.N. Foreign/ Office - June 8, A.M.

From Delegate YOSHIKAWA to Foreign Minister MATSUOKA

Parley No. 227 (omission) (per Embassy's code, Foreign -

Top Secret)

Referring to Outgoing Cable No. 222

1. Although, as you will be able to observe from the foregoing cable, the DUTCH reply shows that there are some points where they have agreed to our wishes, nevertheless the prospects are not very bright in regard to problems such as entry into the country, enterprises and commerce due to their adhering to their former contentions; in addition to which, in regard to the question of resources, such as rubber and tin, as well as regarding (not clear) among other important commodities to which the government /T.N. JAPANESE/ attaches the greatest importance at present, they /T.N. the DUTCH/ are stubbornly persisting in their conditions. Moreover, they /T.N. the DUTCH/ have in fact at the same time decreased the quantities compared with the informal figures submitted hitherto by them /T.N. the DUTCH authorities/.

Now that Your Excellency and the Vice-Minister have lodged a strong protest against the BRITISH Ambassador and the DUTCH Minister, and the Publicity Department as well as the newspapers have been carrying out an active press campaign, it is absolutely impossible to accept the DUTCH reply just as it is.

Even if we should, at this juncture, demand the concession of the DUTCH and try to continue on with the negotiations, inasmuch as the DUTCH reply I have just received was, in addition to having met with the special consideration of the Plenary Session by studying same themselves repeatedly by inviting "MO" after having submitted same to the INDIAN Council for deliberation, also approved of by the DUTCH government in LONDON, it is evident that they would no longer accept any such demand in view of the DUTCH side manifesting a firm attitude as regards their unwillingness to discuss matters any further.

Consequently, although it is considered that the only option left as regards the attitude to be adopted by us would be to have our Delegation leave after announcing the rupture of the Parley, on the ground that the DUTCH reply was unsatisfactory, in such a case it is evident that, out of respect towards its people, the JAPANESE government would have to assume a strong attitude towards the DUTCH, and the press would denounce the DUTCH attitude in a vehement tone.

However, as has been duly proved by what has occurred in the past, the DUTCH would by no means yield to such a threatening gesture. On the contrary,

- (a) No new petroleum concessions whatsoever would be sanctioned.
- (b) No "moral support" would be given towards the renewal of the contract re sale of oil next November.
- (c) No promise whatsoever would be given also on materials other than, petroleum and the supply thereof would be more and more restricted.
- (d) Copra and palm oil would be set back to 12.000 kilo tons and 960 tons respectively, and it would be made impossible for the JAPANESE farms and merchants to export their products and stocks to JAPAN.
- (e) JAPANESE doctors would, obviously, be prohibited from establishing their practice, and the restrictions regarding entry into the country would be still further strengthened.
- (f) No advance notice would be given regarding the importation of JAPANESE goods.
- (g) Various methods would be resorted to in order to increase the pressure upon the business and living of the JAPANESE residents.
- (h) The attitude of dependence on GREAT BRITAIN and the UNITED STATES would be strengthened in a still more outspoken manner.

We must consequently be prepared for the fact that the situation after the rupture would become very grave. Not only would it be unfavourable from the standpoint of our prestige at home and abroad to attempt any measures for prolonging the stay of our Delegation, but as, in such a case, the DUTCH authorities would most probably demand

the withdrawal of the Delegation, and as the EMPIRE's prestige would become completely lost in the event of the Delegation being thereby forced to leave, please, after giving the matter your careful and due consideration, send me your urgent telegraphic reply as regards the attitude that I should assume.

Moreover, please note that, if possible, I intend to return to JAPAN by the first available opportunity after the 20th inst.

Ex. 1322

振興土產

量ニ付テ王今日迄、蘭創内示量ヨリ王國口又ニ威ニ思ハ
 從テ蘭創同答ニ其、直受量ニルコト、貴大臣又次官ヨリ英
 大使及知蘭公使ニ對シ強硬ナル中スアリ又情報部又新聞
 ニ於テ續絶助メスササリベシム行ヒタル今日ニ於テ、則
 不可能ト思考又在リトテ此、期ニ及ニテ我々ヨリ蘭創、讓歩
 ヲ要求シ論議ヲ進ナコトスルモ蘭創今次同答、總合ニ於
 テ特ニ慎重ノ期ニテ印度評議會ニ諮問シタル上、昨今「
 〇」指サテ自ら檢討ヲ為セリ、ミナニ又在倫敦及葡政府、裁
 決ヲ正當ナルモノニテ蘭創ハニテ、此、上論議スルコトヲ欲サズト
 、嚴然ルニ態度ヲ表示シ居ルコトモアリ、最早愛付タルコト
 明瞭ナリ、然レ我々トニテ、裁ルベキ態度、蘭創同答ヲ不滿意
 ナリトミテ今蘭使歐ヲモ明ニスル上代表部ヲ引續ケルナリト
 思考サレ、處テ、總合、我政府トニテ正國民ニ對スル手前
 王アリ強硬態度ヲ示サル、可得ナルコト、ナリ、右論界、極端ナ

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Telegram No. 22296

Copy of the Telegram despatched to Delegate YOSHIZAWA at Batavia by Foreign Minister MATSUOKA, at 8.15 p.m., 14 June 1941.

Subject: Breaking off of negotiations with the Netherlands Indies.

(Cipher) Urgent No. 147 (Handled in same manner as director's code)

In connection with your telegram "conference" No. 227: the reply of the Netherland Indies this time is so unwarrantable that it is not only beyond our acceptance, but it is also meaningless for us to continue the negotiation on the basis of their reply. Therefore, the Government in accordance with your opinion has decided to break off the conference and to withdraw you, the delegate, and your whole staffs. It is requested that you make the best of the situation bearing the following points in mind:

1) In order to take a cautious procedure, you will meet with the Governor-General at any rate to explain that we have made concessions to an intolerable extent in consideration for the future relations between Japan and the Netherland Indies though anticipating that our Cabinet will be attacked by public opinion and find itself in a very difficult position if we publish our last proposal, and you will urge him to seriously reconsider his attitude from the general standpoint. If the Governor-General declares that there is no room for reconsideration, you will immediately notify him of the breaking off of the conference and of the withdrawal of your delegation.

2) It is desirable to make it clear that general commercial and economic relations between Japan and the Netherland Indies should be maintained as before, but whether such a positive proposal should be made or not will be left to your discretion.

3) You will make it clear that if they wish, Consul-General ISHIZAWA may continue the negotiations. Therefore, you will make it clear that although the delegation will avoid giving the impression that the relations between Japan and the Netherland Indies have been ruptured, your delegation will withdraw upon the break-up of the present conference.

4) With the same spirit, it is our policy to avoid as much as possible giving the impression abroad of a complete rupture, thus we may prevent exciting public opinion. Therefore it is requested that your delegation keep in touch with us, and as we want the announcement of our decision to be made immediately after your notification to them of the breaking off of the conference, it is requested that you despatch

an ordinary telegram telling us you "have notified" them. As for the form of announcement it is planned that a simple statement be made by the Information Bureau (the gist to be such in the telegram "conference" No. 146) in regard to the breaking off of the conference, with the addition of a talk by ISHII, the chief of the Section (the gist to be seen in the Telegram "Conference" No. 144). We hope the announcement you will make on your departure will be arranged to be in accordance with the Government's announcement.

5) The date of the withdrawal of your delegation will be left to your discretion but it is requested that you make arrangements so that the parties concerned with petroleum can separate from your delegation and remain to continue the negotiations.

